

POL631, Theories and Practice of Justice in International Politics, Spring 2014

Professor Ann Marie Clark

Mondays, 1:30-4:20pm; BRNG B206

Office hours: Wednesday, 3:30-5 or by appointment

This course will focus broadly on justice in international politics. The word is used in many ways these days. How has justice been conceived by political theorists? How is justice understood and pursued by advocates? How is it practiced in international institutions? This course is being offered for the first time. It will have a strong theoretical emphasis that will include normative and analytical approaches to theories of justice, and a significant empirical component addressing scholarly work on the international pursuit and practice of justice.

Course texts

The books listed below have been ordered through Follett's and University Bookstore. In recognition of limited budgets, each text is also either on reserve or available on-line, but purchase is recommended.

A course bibliography with full citations for all course texts will be placed on Blackboard.

Fraser, Nancy (2010), *Scales of Justice: Reimagining Political Space in a Globalizing World*, Columbia University Press (2010); ISBN-10: 0231146817.

Honig, Bonnie (2009), *Emergency Politics: Paradox, Law, Democracy*, Princeton University Press ISBN: 0691152594. (As with most Princeton academic titles, first chapter is available in pdf on the Princeton University Press site.)

Kurasawa, Fuyuki (2008), *The Work of Global Justice: Human Rights as Practices*, Cambridge University Press; ISBN: 078-0-521-67391-4. [Not at bookstore.]

Merry, Sally Engle (2006), *Human Rights and Gender Violence: Translating International Law into Local Justice*, University Of Chicago Press (2006); ISBN-10: 0226520749.

O'Neill, Onora (2000), *Bounds of Justice*, Cambridge University Press; ISBN-10: 0521447445.

Pogge, Thomas and Darryl Moellendorf, eds. (2008), *Global Justice: Seminal Essays*, Paragon House Publishers, ISBN-10: 1557788693. [Not at bookstore.]

Pogge, Thomas and Keith Horton, eds. (2008), *Global Ethics: Seminal Essays*, Paragon House Publishers, ISBN-10: 1557788707. [Not at bookstore.]

Sen, Amartya (2011 [2009]), *The Idea of Justice*, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press; ISBN-10: 0674060470. Any used version is also okay.

Reus-Smit, Christian (2013) *Individual Rights and the Making of the International System*, Cambridge University Press, ISBN-10: 0521674484.

Course goals:

... that participants in this course will ...

- become familiar with, compare, and contrast a variety of political theories of justice; and to engage in depth with a few of them
- analyze the place of justice as it is represented in major IR paradigms
- develop an individual research project on some empirical aspect of international justice that addresses a theoretical debate
- critically investigate and discuss various global issues with regard to who the relevant actors are, what their justice-seeking practices encompass, and what light (if any) these practices shed on theories of global justice

Course evaluation will be based on:

- Participation
 - General participation quality: 10%
 - reading outlines (7 = first six sessions [3% each], plus one issue session of your choice [2%]): 20%
- Midterm essay take-home exam, available 2/17 and **due 2/24, 5 p.m.:** 25%
- Paper topic components
 - theoretical topic memo (1-2 pages) **due March 3, midnight:** 10%
 - empirical topic/design memo (2-4 pages) **due March 31:** 10%
- Final course paper (15-25 pages): **due May 5** (first day of finals week): 25%

Details and guidelines about each of these items will be provided on Blackboard.

Also, please see “A Statement about Academic Honesty” at the end of this syllabus.

The syllabus will occasionally require some adjustments. Any changes will be announced in class, and the most up-to-date syllabus will always be on our Blackboard site. The day of the most recent update will appear in the top right corner of the first page, as above.

One more thing:

This course is focused on identifying ways to think about international justice and how actors try to achieve justice in practice. Because it is always good to realize what we may *not* know, **here is a short list of important justice issues we are not covering in any depth this semester:** Just war theory; developments in criminal and human rights accountability; politics of overseas development aid; redress for injustices of the past and duties to future generations; and critical structural theories of the global economy, among others, although these *are* important topics. Also, we are only skimming the surface on the various approaches to some of the the more abstract philosophical conceptions of international justice. If you are interested in further reading, I can point you to more sources.

Course Outline

January 13. Course Introduction. Please read these short pieces in advance:

Thom Brooks (2008), "Introduction." [β]

Amartya Sen (2011 [2009]), "Preface" to *The Idea of Justice* [τ] [β], pp. vii-xix.

January 20. *Martin Luther King, Jr., Holiday*

January 27. Sen's approach to Justice

Sen, Parts I and II, "The Demands of Justice," and "Forms of Reasoning," chs. 1-6 and 7-10 of *The Idea of Justice* [τ] [LR], pp. 1-221.

February 3. How do we recognize justice? Approaches to international justice in political theory

Adam Smith, "Of Merit and Demerit; or, The Objects of Reward and Punishment," excerpt from Part II of *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, Ebrary version, pp. 59-81. [To find ebrary source in library catalog: search for James R. Otteson, ed., *Adam Smith: Selected Philosophical Writings*, Library of Scottish Philosophy, Volume 3 (Luton, UK: Andrews Press, 2004).]

David Lieberman, "Adam Smith on Justice, Rights, and Law" [β], 214-245.

O'Neill, "Four Models of Practical Reasoning," "Agency and Autonomy," and "Principles, Practical Judgement [*sic*], and Institutions," chs. 1-3 of *Bounds of Justice* [τ], pp. 11-64.

John Rawls, "The Law of Peoples" excerpt, in *Global Justice* [τ] [LR], pp. 421-460.

Thomas Pogge, "An Egalitarian Law of Peoples," in *Global Justice* [τ] [LR], pp. 461-493.

Robert Goodin (2008 [1998]), "What Is So Special about Our Fellow Countrymen?" in *Global Justice* [τ] [LR], pp. 255-284; or find original in journals databases in *Ethics* 98:4 (July 1998).

February 10. Justice in IR and IR Theory

Chris Brown (2002), excerpt of "Introduction: Sovereignty, Rights, and Justice," ch. 1 of *Sovereignty, Rights, and Justice: International Political Theory Today*, pp. 1-14. [β]

Christian Reus-Smit, (2013) *Individual Rights and the Making of the International System* [τ], all.

Hurrell, Andrew (2003), "Order and Justice in International Relations: What is at Stake?" in Rosemary Foot, ed., *Order and Justice in International Relations*, 1-23. [β]

February 17. Politics of justice: domestic vs. international and local vs. cosmopolitan

Bonnie Honig, *Emergency Politics* [τ] [LR], pp. TBA. (we will read several chapters)

Nancy Fraser, "Introduction," "Two Dogmas of Egalitarianism," and "Reframing Justice in a Globalizing World," chs. 1 -3 of *Scales of Justice* [τ] , pp. 1-47.

Seyla Benhabib, "Philosophical Foundations of Cosmopolitan Norms," and "Democratic Iterations," in Benhabib, *Another Cosmopolitanism* , pp. 1-80.

Appiah, Kwame Anthony (2006), "Cosmopolitan Contamination," chapter 7 of *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*, pp. 101-113. [β]

February 24. No Class: Midterm essay take-home exam due on Blackboard by 5 p.m. *This will be open book and will consist of two questions: one set question and a choice from among two or three other questions.*

March 3. Agents of justice (?): individuals and movements

Kurasawa (2007), "Introduction: Theorizing the Work of Global Justice" ch. 1 of *The Work of Global Justice* [τ] [LR], pp. 1-22.

Nye, Joseph S., Jr., "International Relations: The Relevance of Theory to Practice," in *Oxford Handbook of International Relations*, pp. 649-660. [β]

Nancy Fraser, "Transnationalizing the Public Sphere," ch. 5 of *Scales of Justice* [τ] , pp. 76-99.

Young, Iris (2011), "Responsibility across Borders," ch. 6 of *Responsibility for Justice*, pp. 123-151. [β]

Tarrow, Sidney, "Global Framing," ch. 4 of *The New Transnational Activism*, 59-76. [β]

Theoretical topic memo due, midnight.

March 10. Agents of justice (?): Institutions and Organizations

Deitelhoff, Nicole, and Klaus Dieter Wolff (2012) "Business and Human Rights: How Corporate Norm Violators become Norm Entrepreneurs," in Risse, et al., eds., *The Persistent Power of Human Rights*, pp. 222-238. [β]

(over)

Nicole Deitelhoff, "The Discursive Process of Legalization: Charting Islands of Persuasion in the ICC Case," *International Organization* 63, Winter 2009, pp. 33-65. [β]

Nardin, Terry (2008), "Theorising the international rule of law," *Review of International Studies* (2008), 34, 385-401 [β]

Yuval Shany (2012) "Assessing the Effectiveness of International Courts," *American Journal of International Law*, 106:2, pp. 225-270. [β]

Sarah S. Stroup & Amanda Murdie (2012), "There's No Place Like Home: Explaining International NGO advocacy," *Review of International Organizations* 7:425-448. [β]

Tarrow, "Transnational Activism and Internationalization," in *The New Transnational Activism* [LR], pp. 201-219. [β]

Sign up for a meeting time with AMC.

March 17. Spring break

March 24. Instead of class: individual meetings with AMC this week (no new reading, use time to work on research papers).

March 31. Issues in global justice practice: human rights
Kurasawa, chs. 1 - Conclusion, *The Work of Global Justice* [τ] [LR], pp. 23-210.
Empirical topic/design memo due, midnight.

April 7. Issues in global justice practice: the environment
Hardin, Garrett (1974), "Commentary: Living on a Lifeboat," *BioScience* 24: 561-68.

[β]

Shue, Henry () "Subsistence Emissions and Luxury Emissions" in *Global Ethics* or [LR], pp. 207-232. [τ] [LR]

Zengerling, Cathrin (2013). "Introduction," Chapter 1, "ENGOs, Environmental Problems, International Law, and Politics," and Chapter 5, "Conclusions and Theses," from *Greening International Jurisprudence: Environmental NGOs before International Courts, Tribunals, and Compliance Committees*, pp. 1-42 and 327-349.

Chapters 1, 8 and 14 of Falkner, Robert, ed. (2013), *The Handbook of Global Climate and Environment Policy* :

Hoffman, Matthew J., "Global Climate Change," pp 3-18.

Bernstein, Steven, "Global Environmental Norms," pp. 127-145.

Edward Page, "Climate Change Justice," pp. 231-247.

April 14. Issues in global justice practice: the situation of women
Merry, *Human Rights and Gender Violence* [τ] [LR], chapters 1-5, pp 1-178.

April 21. Issues in global justice practice: economic justice

Sen, Part III of *The Idea of Justice* [τ] [LR], pp. 225-317.

Chhotray, Vasudha, "Political Entrepreneurs or Development Agents? An NGO's Tale of Resistance and Acquiescence in Madhya Pradesh, India," in Bebbington, et al., eds., *Can NGOs Make a Difference?: The Challenge of Development Alternatives* [β], pp. 261-278.

Doyle, Michael (2000), "Global Economic Inequalities: A Growing Moral Gap," in Wapner and Ruiz, eds., *Principled World Politics*, pp. 79-97. [β]

Thomas Pogge (), "'Assisting' the Global Poor," in *Global Ethics* [τ] or [LR], pp. 531-563.

April 28. Proposals for justice

Sen, Part IV of *The Idea of Justice* [τ] [LR], pp. 321-415.

Slaughter, Anne-Marie, () "A Just World Order," ch. 6 of *A New World Order* [β], pp. 217-260 and notes. [β]

Kurasawa, "Conclusion: Enacting a Global Cosmopolitanism," ch. 6 of *The Work of Global Justice* [LR], pp. 194-210.

Bartelson, Jens (2009), "Globalizing community," ch. 6 of *Visions of World Community*, pp. 141-170. [β]

May 5. (first day of exam week).

Course research paper is due on Blackboard by midnight.

A word about academic honesty: Honesty, along with freedom of expression, and mutual respect, are age-old values of university life. Honesty includes academic honesty. Please note that university regulations prohibit the "cheating, lying, stealing, and deceit in any of their diverse forms (such as the use of ghost-written papers, the use of substitutes for taking examinations, the use of illegal cribs, plagiarism, and copying during examinations)." (See Purdue University, *University Regulations*, Part 5, Section III.B.2.a., "Misconduct Subject to Disciplinary Penalties": <http://www.purdue.edu/univregs/studentconduct/regulations.html>)

Plagiarism involves presenting someone else's written work or ideas (including internet material) as your own, or using such material in your own work without giving due credit to the original source. Many students do not realize that even paraphrasing large portions of text without giving credit to the author is an unacceptable research practice. Make sure your work is your own.

Emergency Planning Statement. *As recommended by Purdue, this statement is included with the syllabus, so you will be aware that changes may be made to the course in the event of a major campus emergency. If an emergency occurs, information will also be posted on Purdue's web site. Other emergency advice is available at:*

http://www.purdue.edu/emergency_preparedness/

In the event of a major campus emergency, course requirements, deadlines and grading percentages are subject to changes that may be necessitated by a revised semester calendar or other circumstances beyond the instructor's control. Ways to get information about changes in this course: the course's "Blackboard Learn" web page, Prof. Clark's email, clarkam@purdue.edu.

1. Politics, like society in general, is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature. These objective laws allow us to differentiate truth from opinion – the difference between objective and rational truth (supported by evidence and reason) and subjective judgement. We must also approach political reality with a rational outline/map in order to understand chosen behaviors. 2. Interests are defined in terms of power. We assume that statesmen think and act in terms of interest defined as power. (p. 5) Politics is an autonomous sphere apart from economics, ethics, religion, c The politics of knowledge in International Relations theory. Rethinking political community. Conclusion. 7 Postmodernism. Power and knowledge in International Relations. Textual strategies of postmodernism. Problematizing sovereign states. From power to order: international society Order and justice in international relations The revolt against the West and the expansion of. international society Progress in international relations Conclusion. 84. 89 93. 98 103 108. 5 Marxism Andrew Linklater. Class, production and international relations in Marx's writings. Impunity and Human Rights in International Law and Practice (Naomi Roht-Arriaza ed., 1995). Zachary D. Kaufman, The Future of Transitional Justice, 1 St. Antony's Int'l Rev. 58 (2005). Bronwyn Leebaw, Judging State-Sponsored Violence, Imagining Political Change (2011). Jaime Malamud-Got, Game Without End: State Terror and the Politics of Justice (1996). Mahmood Mamdani, When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda (2001). Martha Minow, Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History After Genocide and Mass Violence (1998). Luc Reydam, Universal Jurisdiction over Atrocities in Rwanda: Theory and Practice, 1 Eur. J. Crime Crim. L. & Crim.